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ABSTRACT

This booklet provides instructions for simulating the causes and events that led to the resignation of Richard Nixon as President of the United States. Students role-play activities related to the Watergate break-in, the cover-up attempts, the Congressional hearings relating to impeachment considerations, and the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon on August 8, 1974. (EH)

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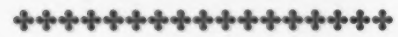
WATERGATE

THE WATERLOO OF A PRESIDENT

by

Richard W. Hostrop

ETC Simulation Number 1



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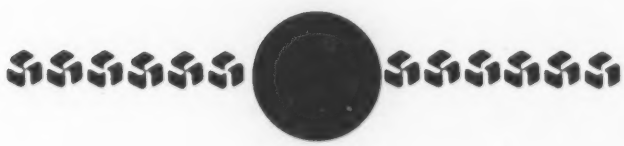

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INTRODUCTION

Imagine yourself back in the years 1971–1974, a time in which the most unpopular war in the United States hisotry was dividing the nation –– the war in Vietnam. Remember that 1972 was an election year, a year in which a rare, clear choice was given the American people –– Richard M. Nixon, the conservative, incumbent President and George C. McGovern, the liberal Senator from South Dakota. To supporters of the President, the election of Senator McGovern would be a disaster, a sell-out to the leaders of communist North Vietnam. To supporters of the Senator, the reelection of the President meant a continuing involvement in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, with more American servicemen captured, maimed, and killed. The President wanted the American withdrawal from Vietnam to be done "with honor" (taking more time . . . and lives) and the Senator wanted to "abandon ship" (lessening lives lost, but creating a "paper tiger" United States in the eyes of the world). The extremist political views of the protagonists set the stage for mass demonstrations and "dirty tricks." The polarized views of the nation on how to deal with America's involvement in Southeast Asia set the stage for Watergate -- the ultimate "Dirty Trick," the subsequent "Cover Up" which led to the mid-term resignation of the first president to do so in America's 200 year history.

OBJECTIVES

The educational objectives of this simulation include the following:

1. Learn why the war in Vietnam so divided the people of the United States.
2. Learn what Watergate is and what happened there of significance.
3. Learn what the importance of the Watergate break-in was, and what has come as result with respect to the election laws of the United States.
4. Learn what impeachment means.
5. Learn where impeachment proceedings originate for a President.
6. Learn where presidential impeachment trials are held.
7. Learn who serves as jurors at a presidential impeachment trial.
8. Learn who presides over a presidential impeachment trial.
9. Learn how many votes are necessary to remove a President from office.
10. Learn why Richard M. Nixon was forced to resign as President of the United States.
11. Learn that eternal vigilance is the price of Democracy . . . even vigilance of a President.

STRATEGY

Preparation

Say to the students that they are to review (or study) the political period 1971-1974 in the United States for the next several days. Following this preparation they will take part in a simulation concerning WATERGATE – The Waterloo of a President. State they are to study the specific person whose role they are assigned (there are 19 specific roles included in this simulation, but the number of roles can be readily increased to more than fifty by expanding the number of roles on the Watergate Committee of Senator Ervin and/or Congressman Rodino). State that at the time of the simulation they are to represent the views of the assigned person as accurately and as forcefully as possible. State that it will be necessary to do a thorough job of research in order to play the role effectively.

Depending upon how much background the students already have will determine how much advance preparation the students should have. Even students who already are *very* well prepared should be given at least two days to prepare for their specific role –– a week's notice should be maximum.

It is strongly recommended that on the back of each role card (which should be prepared by the teacher beforehand) the name of the individual assigned to each role be written in PENCIL (so the role cards prepared can be erased and used again) beforehand. These steps will save consider able time when the simulation is conducted. Try to place individuals in the roles they would be

best suited for. Inform each student of his/her assigned role. The simulation will take approximately three hours to complete. Copy for Role Cards and other student materials is provided after the simulation. Carefully study the simulation before making assignments.

THE SIMULATION

State to the students to "live" their roles, to become involved and to picture themselves back in the early 1970s when the United States was sharply divided over its involvement in the war in Vietnam, a war which had cost 55,000 American lives, a period in which campus and political sit-ins and demonstrations were commonplace, a time when students were even killed on campus by the National Guard and police (Kent State and Jackson State Universities). Point out this was also a time in which President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were attempting détente with the Chinese and the Russians.

Part I – Events Leading Up to the Watergate Break-in

Step 1: As the Simulation Director, state: "You are on your way to work. You buy the June 13, 1971 issue of the *New York Times.*"

Step 2: Pass out Card 1 to all simulation participants.

Step 3: Now state: "It is six weeks later. You are again on your way to work. You buy the July 23, 1971 issue of the *New York Times.*" Now pass out Card 2.

Step 4: As soon as all "newspapers" have been sold (passed out), go to the chalkboard and write "The Oval Office of the White House" and below it write "July 24, 1971".

Step 5: Pass out Role Card A. Ask the President of the United States to take his chair behind his desk in the Oval Office of the White House (front of the room).

Step 6: Pass out Role Card B. Ask John Ehrlichman to take a seat in the Oval Office.

Step 7: Pass out Role Card C. Ask Egil Krogh to take a seat in the Oval Office.

Step 8: After President Nixon has dismissed John Ehrlichman and Egil Krogh from his office, ask the President to quietly take his regular seat. Then erase the chalkboard and write on it, "John Ehrlichman's Office, September 1971".

Step 9: Pass out Role Card B-1. Ask John Ehrlichman to sit at his desk in his White House office (at front of room).

Step 10: Pass out Role Card C-1. Ask Egil Krogh to take a seat in John Ehrlichman's office.

Step 11: After John Ehrlichman dismisses Egil Krogh, ask Mr. Ehrlichman to quietly take his regular seat. Then erase the chalkboard and write on it. "The Trial of Daniel Ellsberg, April 26 – May 11, 1973, U. S. District Court, Los Angeles, California".

Step 12: Pass out Role Card D. Ask Daniel Ellsberg to take a seat on the stand. When he is on the stand (in front of the room), ask aloud (as if the defense attorney), "Mr. Ellsberg, *what* 'secrets' did you take from the Pentagon and *why*?"

Step 13: When Daniel Ellsberg is finished testifying, ask him to step down from the stand and take his regular seat. Announce to the class that on May 11, 1973 Judge Matt Byrne dismissed all charges of espionage, theft, and conspiracy against Daniel Ellsberg (and Anthony J. Russo). State Judge Byrne also declared a mistrial because the Government had unlawfully wiretapped Daniel Ellsberg's telephone and had illegally broken into Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office in an attempt to obtain damaging information against him.

Step 14: Write on the chalkboard, "Office of the Attorney General of the United States, January 27, 1972 – 4 PM". State to the participants, "As has been just shown, though the printing of the Pentagon Papers occurred in June 1971 it was not until May 1973 that the matter was formally concluded. Within this two year period of time other dramatic events were occurring as you will soon see."

Part II – The Watergate Break-in

Step 15: Pass out Role Card E to the John Mitchell, Attorney General of the United States, and ask him to sit at his office desk (in front).

Step 16: Pass out Role Card F to John Dean who is to join John Mitchell in his office.

Step 17: Pass out Role Card G to Jeb Magruder who is to join John Mitchell in his office.

Step 18: Pass out Role Card H to G. Gordon Liddy who is to join John Mitchell in his office with the other two men.

Step 19: After John Mitchell tells G. Gordon Liddy that his plans need to be scaled down, quietly tell the four men to take their regular seats. Erase the chalkboard, then tell the simulation participants that the trio returned to John Mitchell's office a week later, but again the Attorney General declared the redrawn plans were still too expensive and risky. There followed a third session, almost two months later, on March 30, 1972, in a villa close by the President's compound on Key Biscayne, Florida. At the third session Jeb Magruder, but not John Dean or Gordon Liddy, was present. Because of White House pressing for a massive screening of Democratic rivals for the presidency, John Mitchell at this third session approved a scaled down plan by Liddy. The espionage plan approved provided a budget of $250,000 in which to wiretap the telephone of Lawrence O'Brien, head of the Democratic National Committee headquartered in the Watergate, a Washington, D.C. complex of apartments and office space, to photograph documents, to keep radicals under surveillance, and to carry on similar intelligence gathering activities on Democrats during the presidential campaign. The first tap failed to work. A second break-in at the Watergate occurred on June 17, 1972 and this time Liddy's five hired men were caught and arrested in Lawrence O'Brien's, office with easily traced $100 bills that had come through CREEP (Committee to Reelect the President) from a Miami bank.

Part III – The Cover-up

Step 20: Write on the chalkboard, "The Oval Office of the White House, June 23, 1972".

Step 21: Pass out Role Card A-1 to President Richard M. Nixon. Ask him to take his chair behind his desk in the Oval Office.

Step 22: Pass out Role Card I to H. R. "Bob" Haldeman, Assistant to the President. Ask him to take a seat in front of the President's desk.

Step 23: Ask the two men to quietly take their regular seats after the President declares, "All right, fine . . . Play it tough. That's the way they play it, and that's the way we are going to play it." Then state to the participants, But the CIA refused to interfere with the FBI investigation of the Watergate break-in. Moreover, the President's failure to report what he knew to the Justice Department and his OKing of the CIA interference with the FBI investigation was clearly an obstruction of justice and impeachable offenses under the Constitution. Beginning on June 23, 1972, less than a week after the break-in, President Nixon clearly put himself and his associates above the law and attempted to "steal" an election by withholding vital information for the electorate to consider in the presidential election just five months away.

Step 24: Pass out Card 3 to all participants -- the November 6, 1972 issue of the *New York Times* announcing the relection of Richard Nixon.

Step 25: Write on the chalkboard, "The Oval Office of the White House, Various Times from February through April 1973".

Step 26: Pass out Role Card A-2 to President Nixon and ask him to take his seat behind his desk in the Oval Office of the White House.

Step 27: Pass out Role Card F-1 to John Dean and ask him to take a seat in the President's office.

Step 28: After the President and John Dean have finished discussing payments to the Watergate burglars and Dean has said ". . . We have a cancer . . . close to the Presidency, that's growing...," ask the two men to quietly take their regular seats, erase the chalk board, then write on it, "United States District Court, Washington, D.C., March 23, 1973, Judge John J. Sirica presiding". Pass out Role Card J.

Step 29: After Judge Sirica has announced his tentative sentencing of the Watergate burglars, state to the participants: After the lengthy, tentative sentencing of the Watergate burglars, James McCord informed the Ervin Committee that he believed John Dean and Jeb Magruder were also involved in planning the Watergate break-in. Both men, in hopes of avoiding or lessening their own punishments for their part in illegal activities conducted on behalf of the White House, told what they knew to government prosecutors. On April 16, 1973 the President demanded John Dean's resignation. But Dean insisted he would only resign if Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman also resigned. The President refused Dean's demand at first and barred him from the White House . . . though he neither suspended nor dismissed him. Upon Dean's refusal to resign, the President, the next day, on Tuesday, April 17, 1973, issued the first of 15 statements or open letters, eight press conferences, and four television appearances to make matters "perfectly clear." The President's opening explanation on what he knew and did with respect to Watergate set the tone for the rest. President Nixon grudgingly yielded, waiving executive privilege so that White House aides could testify to the Ervin Committee in public. Ambiguously, the President admitted what could no longer be denied: "That on March 21, as a result of serious charges that came to my attention," he had begun a whole new investigation, as a result of which anyone in his Administration indicted by the grand jury would be immediately suspended and should receive no immunity from prosecution. The President had cast overboard to justice John Dean, Jeb Magruder, and John Mitchell . . . and lesser figures. Under great pressure from his own legal counsel, James St. Clair, and the Department of Justice, the President two weeks later at Camp David wept as he asked for the resignations of his two closest White House associates, Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman. At the same time he "fired" John Dean.

Step 30: Write on the chalkboard, "July 16, 1973, White House Aide Alexander Butterfield's Appearance Before the Ervin Committee of the United States Senate".

Step 31: Pass out Role Card K to Alexander Butterfield. Ask him to take the witness chair before the Ervin Committee (front of the room facing the other participants).

Step 32: Pass out Role Card L to Senator Howard Baker, Jr. Quietly ask him to begin questioning after taking a front row seat facing Alexander Butterfield.

Step 33: After Alexander Butterfield reveals the existence of the White House taping and telephone tapping system, ask Butterfield to take his seat and state to the participants that a tremendous furor arose even among high placed Republicans. No one had realized that their private meetings and telephone conversations with the President had been recorded. Elected officials pointed out that chiefs of states and other high ranking foreign visitors would in the future feel reluctant to have confidential and sensitive discussions with an American President when their words could conceivably be used against them. But President Nixon and his new White House staff, led by former General Alexander Haig, were faced with an even greater problem than the furor caused by the revelation that private conversations were recorded inside the White House without the knowledge of the visitor. Without the tapes, there was no evidence against the President except for John Dean's words. But with the tapes, the chief witness against the President would be the President. The "Battle of the Tapes" soon ensued after Alexander Butterfield's astonishing revelation. Why Richard Nixon did not destroy the tapes when their existence became known, and which eventually forced his resignation, only he knows. Archibald Cox, a Harvard law professor, had been appointed Watergate Special Prosecutor by the new Attorney General Elliot Richardson on May 18, 1973, and soon after Butterfield's disclosures, to the consternation of the White House, drew up a subpoena requiring the President to deliver nine specific tape recordings. Served on July 23, 1973, the subpoena was rejected by the White House two days later.

Step 34: Write on the chalkboard, "U. S. District Court, Washington D.C., August, 1973".

Step 35: Pass out Role Card J-1 to Judge John J. Sirica and ask him to take his place at the bench.

Step 36: Pass out Role Card M to Archibald Cox. Ask him to present the Government's case before Judge Sirica.

Step 37: Pass out Role Card N to Charles A. Wright, the President's Constitutional lawyer. Ask him to present the President's case before Judge Sirica when Special Watergate Prosecutor Cox is finished presenting the Government's case.

Step 38. After Judge Sirica rules in favor of the Government, state to the participants that the President's attorney appealed the decision of Judge Sirica but once again lost before the Court of Appeals in October 1973. Further state that October was a very difficult month for the President. The Arabs had attacked Israel on Yom Kippur, among the holiest of days for Jews. Israel required massive U. S. arms to survive due to Russia's considerable arms shipments to the Arabs. Not only that, but Spiro Agnew, Vice-President of the United States had resigned in disgrace as an acceptor of bribes on October 10, two days before the Yom Kippur War. Agnew then had to be replaced, the decision finally being Gerald Ford. While the President was making brilliant international decisions during October, he badly, mindlessly, and totally miscalculated the Watergate consequences at home.

Step 39: State to the participants, "You have now reached home after work. Your afternoon newspaper of October 19, 1973 is waiting for you." Now pass out Card 4.

Step 40: After passing out the October 19 issue of the *New York Times*, state to the participants, President Nixon's statement was a masterpiece of political art —— it floated on a rhetoric of conciliation and goodwill. What was left out, flatly, was the fact that the President was *not* complying with the order which the Court of Appeals had issued Archibald Cox released to the press a statement of his own. In it he said, "I cannot accept the terms of the President's statement. For me to comply would violate my solemn pledge to the Senate and the country. I shall not violate my promise." President Nixon considered Archibald Cox's response to be insubordinate by an Executive Branch employee. He therefore fired him the very next day.

Step 41: State to the participants, "It is now October 20, 1973. You read the *New York Times* when you come home from work. Now pass out Card 5.

Step 42: After passing out the October 20, 1973 issue of the *New York Times*, state: "By ten days after the firing of Archibald Cox Western Union reported that a total of 450,000 telegrams had been sent to the White House ("the heaviest concentrated volume on record"). Deans of 17 law schools joined in a petition that Congress "consider the necessity" of impeachment now. Churchmen protested. Students rallied in protest to the firing. The White House had been caught in a total misreading of American opinion. The White House staff realized too late what furies were at large. As the storms burst, they were unable to answer the one question on everyone's mind, What was the President hiding? Within three days of the discharge the President gave in. The nine originally subpoened tapes by Archibald Cox were surrendered to Judge Sirica. But the surrendering of the tapes did not hold back the forces of impeachment. Discovering that there was an unexplained 18½ minute gap in a tape in a discussion between the President and H. R. Haldeman, only three days after the Watergate break-in, further spurred the forces of impeachment. The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives began to seriously consider if there were grounds for the impeachment of Richard Milhouse Nixon in the spring of 1974.

Step 43: State to the participants that in mid April 1974 the House Judiciary Committee and Leon Jaworski (the new Special Prosecutor) subpoened more than 60 White House taped conversations. President Nixon's response was to release highly edited written transcripts of the conversations. To take the initiative the President on April 29, 1974 spoke on radio and television. On a table beside where the President spoke were 38 bound volumes, one for each member of the Judiciary Committee.

Step 44: Pass out Role Card A-3 to President Nixon and write on the chalkboard, "The White House, April 29, 1974".

Step 45: After the President has made his address to the nation, change the chalkboard to read, "The House Judiciary Committee, May 1–2, 1974".

Step 46: Pass out Hole Card 0 to Peter Rodino, Jr., Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and ask him to take the Chairman's seat.

Step 47: Pass out Role Card P to Edward Hutchinson, Ranking Member of the House Judiciary Committee and ask him to take a seat beside Peter Rodino.

Step 48: Pass out Role Card Q to Jerome R. Waldie, member of the House Judiciary Committee, and ask him to take his place.

Step 49: Pass out Role Card R to James R. Mann, member of the House Judiciary Committee, and ask him to take his place.

SHOULD YOU WISH TO INCLUDE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CLASS WHO MIGHT NOT HAVE YET BEEN ASSIGNED SPECIFIC ROLES, BEING ASSIGNED A ROLE AS ONE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE WOULD BE IDEAL. THESE UNFILLED ROLES INCLUDE: Harold D. Donohue, D-Mass.; Robert McClory, R-Ill.; Jack Brooks, D-Tx.; Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis.; Don Edwards, D-Cal.; William L. Hungate, D-Mo.; John Conyers, Jr., D-Mich.; Joshua Eilberg, D-Pa.; Henry P. Smith III, R-NY.; Charles W. Sandman, Jr., R-NJ; Tom Railsback, R-Il.; Charles E. Wiggins, R-Cal.; David Dennis, R-In.; Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Mo.; Walter Flowers, D-Al.; John F. Seiberling, D-Oh.; George E. Danielson, D-Cal.; Robert F. Drinan, D-Mass.; Charles B. Rangel, D-NY; Barbara Jordan, D-Tx.; Ray Thornton, D-Ark.; Elizabeth Holtzmann, D-NY; Wayne Owens, D-Ut.; Edward Mezvinsky, D-Ia.; Hamilton "Ham" Fish, Jr., R-NY; Wiley Mayne, R-Ia.; Lawrence J. Hogan, R-Md.; M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va.; Delbert L. Latta, R-Oh.; William S. Cohen, R-Me.; Trent Lott, R-Miss.; Harold V. Froehlich, R-Wis.; Carlos J. Moorhead, R-Cal.; Joseph J. Maraziti, R-NJ. SHOULD ANY OF THESE ROLES BE ADDED TO THOSE ALREADY GIVEN, THEY SHOULD BE GIVEN OUT AT THE SAME TIME AS ALL OTHER ROLES SO THAT THEIR WORK ON THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IS AS AUTHENTIC AS POSSIBLE. THOSE ADDED SIMULATION PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE INFORMED TO FULLY ENTER INTO THE DEBATES.

Step 50: After Chairman Peter Rodino on May 2, 1974 announces the impeachment inquiry procedures, change the date on the chalkboard to "July 24 – August 7, 1974".

Step 51: After Chairman Rodino states the voting outcome on the three Articles of Impeachment, erase the chalkboard and write on it, "August 5, 1974". Then pass out Card 6, the August 5, 1974 issue of the *New York Times*, to all simulation participants.

Step 52: After the newspapers have been passed out, state to the participants that the national outcry resulting from the revelation of the President's early knowledge as to who was involved in the Watergate break-in, his refusal to reveal who they were to law enforcement authorities, his attempt to use the CIA to obstruct the FBI investigation into the break-in, and his repeated lying to the American people as to his real knowledge of the Watergate break-in lost him the support of the American people. The people felt betrayed. Conviction on one or more Articles of Impeachment was a certainty. Conviction and removal from office was an inescapable conclusion.

Step 53: Erase the chalkboard. Then write on it, "The Oval Office of the White House, Washington, D. C., August 8, 1974. President Nixon is addressing the nation on radio and television."

Step 54: Pass out Role Card A-4 to Richard M. Nixon.

Step 55: After President Nixon announces his resignation, collect all role cards and newspapers.

Step 56: Proceed with reviewing, summarizing, and reinforcing the lessons and learnings of Watergate.

Review, Summarization, and Reinforcement

1. Ask the students what they liked about the simulation.

2. Ask the student how the simulation could have been improved.

3. Ask the students what they learned from the simulation.

4. Ask, Why did the war in Vietnam so divide the people of the United States?

   It was an undeclared war (only Congress can declare war). On the one side it was argued that if one country fell in southeast Asia all could fall (the domino theory), that the United States would not be credible in conducting its foreign policy, that it would be considered an unreliable ally if it did not fight communist agression. The other view held in the country was that the Vietnam war was really a civil war, that U. S. Presidents went far beyond the authority given them by the Tonkin Resolution passed by Congress. Those opposed to American involvement argued that there were no vital U. S. interests in South Vietnam and that the United States was supporting a corrupt political regime which did not even have the support of the South Vietnamese people. Americans holding this view could not see the worth of having American servicemen killed, maimed, or to become drug addicted in a land war in Asia.

5. Ask, What is Watergate and what happened there?

   It is a swanky office-apartment-hotel-shopping complex in Washington, D.C. In 1972 the Democratic Party National Headquarters was located here in a suite of offices on the sixth floor. It was here in the Democratic national headquarters on June 17, 1972 that five men employed by the Committee to Reelect the President (CREP or CREEP) broke in and were caught inside the offices with electronic surveillance equipment.

6. Ask, What was the significance of the Watergate break-in, and how did it affect our election laws?

   The break-in was the revealing segment of a much larger political spy puzzel involving espionage and sabotage, implicating White House officials and financed with hundreds of thousands of dollars in secret Republican Party campaign funds. As a result of the unfolding revelations, a United States Senate investigation committee was established. The purpose of the Committee was to discover what impact political espionage and sabotage has on the election process in a democratic country. The result has been a reform in the nation's election laws forbidding large, undeclared financial contributions, the outlawing of "dirty tricks," and the public financing of presidential elections, among other reforms.

7. Ask, Where do impeachment proceedings originate in the case of a United States President?

   In the United States House of Representatives.

8. Ask Where are impeachment trials of a President held?

   In the United States Senate.

9. Ask, Who serves as jurors at a Presidential impeachment trial?

   United States Senators.

10. Ask, Who presides over a Presidential impeachment trial?

    The Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court (who, as in any jury trial, has no vote).

11. Ask, How many votes are necessary to remove a President from office?

    A two-thirds majority (since, today, there are 100 Senators, two from each state, 67 votes would be required for conviction).

12. Ask, Why was Richard M. Nixon forced to resign as President of the United States?

    According to Theodore H. White, "The true crime of Richard Nixon was that he broke the faith that binds America together, and for this he was driven from power." Watergate was a bungled, "third-rate break-in"; but Richard Nixon's decision to "tough it out," to cover up, was the first in a series of crimes which the American people could not, in the end, forgive their President. In a democracy the people will not accept a try at "stealing"a Presidential election by burglary, wiretapping, and "dirty tricks" on potential or actual Presidential opponents . . . one such dirty trick largely responsible for Senator Edwin Muskie withdrawing from the Democratic Party Presidential nomination campaign. The faith that Richard Nixon broke was critical . . . the President, above all others, *must* stand for the complete integrity of the law. The President must see that justice is done beyond prejudice, beyond rancor, beyond the possibility of a fix. From April 1973 to August 1974, the President repeatedly lied, not only to those in government, but in televised addresses to the American people. His lying irreversibly corroded the faith of Americans in their President's honor. Moreover, he knew he was lying and relied on his mystique as President to carry him through. A transcript of an April 25, 1973 conversation between President Nixon and H. R. Haldeman is revealing, a time in which their front of deception was being broken, but where hope for survival still lived. "We'll survive," said the President. "Despite all the polls and all the rest, I think there's still a hell of a lot of people out there, and from what I've seen, they're . . . you know, they want to believe, that's the point, isn't it?" That was the point. The people wanted to believe, but they no longer could.

13. Ask, What is the price of a Democracy?

    Eternal vigilance . . . even vigilance of a President.

14. Ask, What else did you learn from this simulation?

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STUDENT MATERIAL

It is recommended that all student material which follows, roles and newspapers, be reproduced on stiff cards so that once prepared they do not have to be redone, so that they can be used over and over again. It is recommended that two complete sets of role cards be reproduced, one for the instructor's use and the other for the student in his assigned role. The number of newspapers reproduced should be in a quantity to satisfy the largest of classes. The "newspapers" provided can be readily and inexpensively reproduced by photo offset at the school print shop or by a commercial print shop. All materials can also be readily reproduced on a copy machine such as Xerox.

ROLES

Role A

Role: Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America

Time: July 24, 1971

Place: The Oval Office of the White House

You forcefully express your concern to John Ehrlichman and Egil Krogh that Daniel Ellsberg is a traitor, that his stealing and releasing of the secret Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times* has damaged the nation, and that the refusal of the Supreme Court to halt the publication of the Pentagon Papers has jeopardized national security.

As Commander and Chief, you tried to stop such leaks at their source. But the leaks have continued. You are furious at the latest leak published in yesterday's *New York Times* concerning SALT (Strategic Arms Limitations Talks) talks with the Russians.

Because of the failure of the FBI to halt leaks, which you believe are damaging to national security, you order Egil Krogh to dig up what damaging evidence as can be found on Daniel Ellsberg. You impress upon Krogh the vital importance to national security of this assignment.

After you make the assignment, you excuse the two men.

Role A-1

Role: Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America

Time: June 23, 1972

Place: The Oval Office of the White House

You are meeting with Bob Haldeman, your chief assistant and closest White House associate. On June 17, 1972 you learned of the Watergate break-in, that James McCord had been apprehended and that he was known to be associated with CREEP. You also learned that E. Howard Hunt, who was on the White House staff, had also been indicated! When you learned of the break-in of the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate and of the capture of men in the employe of CREEP, you were so furious that you threw an ashtray across the room and roared, "That is the dumbest thing I have ever heard of!" You were outraged that anyone even remotely connected with your campaign organization would have had anything to do with something like Watergate.

Haldeman is relating the details to you about the break-in and the cover-up under way. He also informs you of Dean and Mitchell's recommendations. When Haldeman says, "Dean and Mitchell recommend that the CIA be called in to obstruct the FBI investigation into Watergate...." the "script" continues as follows:

The President: "OK."

Haldeman: "And you seem to think the thing to do is get the FBI to stop?"

The President: "Right, fine."

Haldeman: "They say the only way to do that is from White House instructions."

The President: "All right, fine . . . . Play it tough. That's the way they play it, and that's the way we are going to play it."

Role A-2

Role: Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America

Time: Various Times from February through April 1973

Place: Oval Office of the White House

In spite of the fact that the Watergate break-in occurred more than six months ago, and you won re-election by the largest popular vote in American history against liberal Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, the Watergate investigation persists. In fact, a United States Senate Committee has been set up to investigate the Watergate affair and presidential campaign practices in general. The committee is known as the Ervin Committee for its Chairman, Sam Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, and informally as simply the "Senate Watergate Committee." You are deeply concerned about the public relations damage the Committee could do to your Administration . . . and you so express yourself to your aides. You are determined to outsmart the Committee by your own PR (Public Relations) counteroffensive.

But you planned counterattack runs into constant trouble because it is not until March 21, 1973 that you learn the entire truth of the break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office and of the Watergate break-in from John Dean. You express astonishment and dismay to John Dean.

You question him sharply. You ask for a full written report of all that has occurred. In the meantime you "tough it out" to the Committee and the American people. You also agree to providing "humanitarian" money for those indicted in the Watergate affair.

Role A-3

Role: Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America

Time: April 29, 1974

Place: The White House

You address the American people by radio and television. You say:

"Good evening.

"I have asked for this time tonight in order to announce my answer to the House Judiciary Committee's subpoena for additional Watergate tapes . . . . .

"These actions will at last, once and for all, show what I knew and what I did with regard to the Watergate break-in and cover-up were just as I have described to you from the very beginning....

"In these folders that you see over here on my left, are more than 1200 pages of transcripts of private conversations, I participated in between September 15, 1972 and April 27 of 1973, with my principle aides and associates with regard to Watergate. . . . .

"I shall invite Chairman Rodino and the Committee's ranking minority member, Congressman Hutchinson of Michigan, to come to the White House and listen to the actual, full tapes of these conversations, so that they can determine for themselves beyond question that the transcripts are accurate and that everything on the tapes relevant to my knowledge and my actions on Watergate is included . . . . .

". . . If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference.

"Thank you, and good evening."

Role A-4

Role: Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America

Time: August 8, 1974

Place: The Oval Office of the White House

With impeachment assured as a result of the recent revelation of the contents of the June 23, 1972 White House tape between you and Bob Haldeman in which you approved of using the CIA

to obstruct the FBI investigation into Watergate, and because of the urging of those officials closest to you to resign or face almost certain impeachment and criminal charges, you decide, with the greatest of reluctance, to resign the Presidency.

You now begin a 16 minute resignation speech to an audience estimated at 130 million persons, the most in history watching a single, televised event. In your resignation speech you say, among other things, "That I am resigning for the good of the nation. . . . I regret deeply any injuries that there may have been in the course of events that led to this decision . . . . I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong – and some were wrong – they were made in the best interests of the nation . . . . I would hope the legacy of my presidency would be that the world is a safer place today, not only for the people of America, but for the people of all nations. . . that all of our children have a better chance than before of living in peace, rather than dying in war."

Role B

Role: John Ehrlichman, Chief Domestic Adviser to President Richard M. Nixon

Time: July 24, 1971

Place: The Oval Office of the White House

President Nixon has called you and Egil Krogh to his office. He is angry because of continued security leaks to the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* . . . . first the Pentagon Papers, now sensitive information on the SALT talks with the Russians. As a result of these continuing leaks and your lack of confidence in the FBI to stop them, you have set up an organization outside the FBI to do so (known as the "The Plumbers" – to "stop leaks"). This group, approved by the President, is headed by Egil Krogh whom you appointed.

You and Krogh assure the President that the leaks will be stopped . . . that Daniel Ellsberg will be stopped.

Role B-1

Role: John Ehrlichman, Chief Domestic Adviser to President Richard M. Nixon

Time: September 1971

Place: Own Office in the White House

You had ordered a "covert operation" to investigate Daniel Ellsberg, to obtain damaging information and evidence to feed to the press and to use at Ellsberg's upcoming trial for treason. You had stipulated to Egil Krogh that in this mission for the President that nothing be done which could be traceable to the White House. To your dismay, the press has nationwide headlined the fact that Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office had been broken into where a valuless psychiatric

profile had been taken. You express your displeasure to Krogh in no uncertain terms and tell him to disband the special White House unit though the personnel can be kept on for other uses.

Role C

Role: Egil Krogh, Chief of "The Plumbers"

Time: July 24, 1971

Place: The Oval Office of the White House

President Nixon has called you and John Ehrlichman to his office. The president is angry because of continued security leaks to the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* . . . first the Pentagon Papers, now information on the sensitive SALT talks with the Russians. As a result of these leaks and lack of confidence in the FBI to stop them, you were appointed by John Ehrlichman, Chief Domestic Adviser to the President, to head up an organization outside the FBI to stop these leaks. Your group came to be informally known as "The Plumbers" because plumbers are supposed to "stop leaks."

You and John Ehrlichman assure the President that the leaks will be stopped . . . that Daniel Ellsberg will be stopped.

Role C-1

Role: Egil Krogh, Chief of "The Plumbers"

Time: September 1971

Place: John Ehrlichman's Office

As a result of your July 24, 1971 meeting with President Nixon, and as a result of John Ehrlichman's authorization to conduct a convert operation to find damaging evidence against Daniel Ellsberg, you ordered E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy to direct a break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office and to get Ellsberg's file. Three exiled Cubans who formerly worked for the CIA were recruited to make the actual break-in. The job was so badly done that it was apparent to the psychiatrist that a break-in had occurred and that it was no ordinary break-in. As a result, the break-in was headlined by the nation's newspapers. Your boss, John Ehrlichman, is demanding an explanation and justification of the break-in. You attempt to explain and to justify the action.

Role D

Role: Daniel Ellsberg

Time: April 26 – May 11, 1973

Place: U. S. District Court in Los Angeles, California

As a result of your release to the press of Pentagon documents marked "Secret" you have been indicated by the Government as a "traitor." You are now on the witness stand. You tell the Court *what* "secrets" you released and *why*, when you are asked.

Role E

Role: John N. Mitchell, Attorney General of the United States of America

Time: January 27, 1972 – 4 PM

Place: Office of the Attorney General of the United States of America

Take a seat behind your desk (at front of the room).

You shortly will resign as Attorney General in order to direct the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP or CREP). You have called in John Dean, G. Gordon Liddy, and Jeb Magruder to review campaign intelligence. After the men, Liddy in particular, have made their presentations to you, you state this is not the sort of thing you wanted at all; furthermore, the plans are too expensive and too risky. You tell Liddy to redraw his plans more modestly.

Role F

Role: John Dean, Special Counsel to the President

Time: January 27, 1972 – 4 PM

Place: Office of the Attorney General of the United States

Take a seat in front of John Mitchell's desk. You are accompanied by G. Gordon Liddy and Jeb Magruder. You are there to present intelligence plans for use by the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREP or CREEP); John Mitchell will soon resign his office as Attorney General and will head CREP. You mostly listen, but occassionally give some support to the main presenter, G. Gordon Liddy.

Role F-1

Role: John Dean, Special Counsel to the President

Time: Various Times from February through April 1973

Place: The Oval Office of the White House

You meet with the President. You inform him for the first time that Gordon Strachan, an assistant to Bob Haldeman, had actually received the transcripts of the Watergate wiretaps . . . and what went to him went to Haldeman . . . and what went to Haldeman linked the President (give the President a chance to react to this startling revelation).

After the President reacts to the information on Strachan, you suggest to the President that "We hang out to the extent of saying the White House knew of a Republican intelligence operation, but had no knowledge of criminal intent."

After discussing the strategy on the potentially damaging revelation of the Watergate wiretap transcripts having been delivered to the White House, you jolt the President with a further revelation, "The ah, ah, the other potential problem, ah, is Ehrlichman's . . . . He was directly involved in the break-in at the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist."

After the President has had an opportunity to react to the Ehrlichman revelation, you bring up still another unpleasant and disturbing topic. You inform the President that E. Howard Hunt, who was awaiting sentencing on the Watergate break-in and who had been on the payroll of the White House, and whose wife was killed in an airplane crash leaving behind four motherless children, was demanding $130,000 in order to care for his children while he was behind bars. "If he doesn't receive the money, Hunt states he will inform investigators of the seamy things he has done in the service of the President in order to obtain lienency on his sentence."

You tell the President, after giving him ample time to respond to Hunt's blackmail demand, "I have the impression that you don't know everything . . . . We have a cancer . . . . close to the presidency, that's growing."

Role G

Role: Jeb S. Magruder, Deputy Director of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREP or CREEP)

Time: January 27, 1972 – 4 PM

Place: Office of the Attorney General of the United States

Take a seat in front of John Mitchell's desk. You are accompanied by John Dean and G. Gordon Liddy. You are to present intelligence plans for use by CREP; John Mitchell will soon be heading the organization, after resigning as Attorney General, and will then become your immediate superior. You mostly listen, but occasionally give support to the main presenter, your subordinate G. Gordon Liddy.

Role H

Role: G. Gordon Liddy, Counsel of the Finance Committee of the Committee to Reelect the President (CREP or CREEP)

Time: January 27, 1972 – 4 PM

Place: Office of the Attorney General of the United States

You accompany John Dean and your boss, Jeb Magruder, to see John Mitchell who will soon resign as Attorney General in order to direct CREP. As a former FBI Agent you are the main presenter of intelligence plans to be used by CREP. You attempt to persuade those present, particularly John Mitchell, to approve your million dollar plans. You argue forcefully for approval, among other things, the following:

1) Wiretapping of the Democratic headquarters located at the Watergate in Washington, D.C.

2) Kidnapping suspected radicals to prevent potential demonstrations at the Republican Convention to nominate the President for re-election.

Role I

Role: H. R. "Bob" Haldeman, Assistant to the President

Time: June 23, 1972

Place: The Oval Office of the White House

You relate to the President the details of the Watergate break-in, its purpose, who were involved, and the possible implications to the Presidential campaign. After giving the President a chance to respond and to ask questions, you state: "Dean and Mitchell recommend that the CIA be called in to obstruct the FBI investigation into Watergate." Following that statement, the "script" goes as follows:

The President: "OK."

Haldeman: "And you seem to think the thing to do is get the FBI to stop?"

The President: "Right, fine."

Haldeman: "They say the only way to do that is from White House instructions."

The President: "All right, fine . . . . . Play it tough. That's the way they play it, and that's the way we are going to play it."

Role J

Role: Judge John J. Sirica

Time: March 23, 1973

Place: United States District Court, Washington, D. C.

Take you place behind the bench (in front of the room). Then announce sentencing. You sentence Bernard L. Barker, Virgilio R. Gonzalez, Eugenio R. Martinez, and Frank A. Sturgis to a provisional sentence of 40 years in prison for the Watergate break-in. You likewise sentence E. Howard Hunt to a provisional sentence of 40 years in prison.

You further State that final sentencing will occur three months from now pending a three-month study by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons. You state that at that time you will uphold the provisional maximum sentences meted out, reduce the sentences, or place one or more Defendants on probation.

As for G. Gordon Liddy, you declare his sentence to be a minimum of six years and eight months to a maximum of 20 years in prison, plus a fine of $40,000.

State that you are not at all convinced that all the truth has been forthcoming from the Defendants and that your final sentencing will be contingent upon what information comes to light during the next three months. You then read a letter aloud to the Courtroom which you state is addressed to you from James A. McCord:

"Several members of my family have expressed fear for my life if I disclose knowledge of the facts in this matter . . . . In the interests of justice . . . of restoring faith in the criminal justice... Political pressure has been applied to the defendants to plead guilty and remain silent. Perjury had occurred during the trial before Judge Sirica. Others involved in Watergate were not indentified in testimony . . . . I respectfully request a meeting with you after sentencing . . . since I cannot feel confident in talking with an FBI agent, in testifying before a grand jury whose U. S. Attorney works for the Department of Justice, or in talking to other government representatives."

After reading McCord's letter to the Courtroom, you state: "I am postponing sentencing of Mr. McCord for one week. He is freed on bond for $100,000.

Role J-1

Role: Judge John J. Sirica

Time: August 1973

Place: United States District Court, Washington, D. C.

Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox comes before you first to argue that the Government has the right to specific White House tapes to aid in the investigation of those in the White House who might have been involved in illegal acts and/or the obstruction of justice.

Charles A. Wright, Constitutional lawyer for the President, argues that the tapes are the property of the President and to have to give them up would be to do mortal damage to executive privilege.

After you have given each man a chance to present his argument, you rule that the tapes must be surrendered to the Special Prosecutor under certain safeguards, in the interest of seeking justice.

Role K

Role: Alexander Butterfield, White House Aide

Time: July 16, 1973

Place: Senate Hearing Room of the Ervin Committee

You do not volunteer what you are not asked. But you do answer truthfully, though reluctantly, to questions asked of you. When asked, you acknowledge the fact that President Nixon had ordered the White House and Executive Office Building's bugged and that the President's telephones in each office were tapped since the spring of 1971. When asked what the purpose was, you reply it was your understanding that it was for historical purposes.

Role L

Role: Senator Howard Baker, Jr. (R-Tenn.), Member of the Ervin Committee

Time: July 16, 1973

Place: Senate Hearing Room of the Ervin Committee

You are one of the principal interrogators. You comment, at the opening, "What I want to know is what the President knew and when did he knew it." You then begin to question Alexander Butterfield specifically. You ask him how notes were taken at the White House meetings. You ask, Were tape recordings made? Were telephones tapped? Why? Since when? You comment, "I am wondering if there is a 'smoking gun' somewhere."

Role M

Role: Archibald Cox, Watergate Special Prosecutor

Time: August 1973

Place: United States District Court, Washington, D. C.

You are first to speak before Judge John J. Sirica. You forcefully argue that in order to properly conduct the Watergate investigation, the Government needs certain presidential tapes to determine possible illegal actions by members of the White House staff in connection with the Watergate break-in.

Role N

Role: Charles A. Wright, Constitutional Lawyer for the President of the United States

Time: August 1973

Place: United States District Court, Washington, D. C.

After Archibald Cox, Special Watergate Prosecutor, argues for the surrender of presidential tapes, you forcefully argue against such a surrender to the Special Prosecutor. You point out to Judge John J. Sirica that for a President to have to surrender notes or tapes of private conversations between himself and his aides would be to mortally wound executive privilege, that no one in the Executive Branch of government would feel free to express his opinions in fear that one day what he said could become public. You argue that the Executive Branch would cease to operate effectively. Moreover, you point out that to surrender such executive privilege is in direct violation of the Constitutional separation of powers of the three branches of government: legislative, judicial, and executive.

Role O

Role: Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D-NJ), Chairman of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee

Time: May 1, 1974 and July 24 – August 7, 1974

Place: Hearing Room of the House Judiciary Committee

May 1, 1974

You convene your House Judiciary Committee which is considering the possibility of impeaching President Nixon. When your Committee is assembled, you state:

"There is no question that, whatever else the President may have done or been thought to done on Monday evening, and whatever individual members of this Committee may think of the merits of that action, the President has not complied with our subpoena." You then ask, How should the Committee respond to the President's non-compliance with our subpoena?

* * * * * *

After some debate you state, "We did not subpoena a presidential interpretation of what is necessary or relevant for our inquiry.

"Under the Constitution it is not within the power of the President to conduct an inquiry into his own impeachment, to determine which evidence, and what version or portion of that evidence, is relevant and necessary to such an inquiry. These are matters which, under the Constitution, only the House has the sole power to determine. The President's suggestion that the Committee have only the transcripts is not something that I or any member of the Committee can explain to the American people. It would only raise questions about the Committee's inquiry. The Committee must follow the appropriate, the proper, the lawful way as it moves ahead."

* * * * * *

After stating the preceding, you now declare, "By a vote of 20 to 18 we have agreed upon the following letter to be sent to the President:

"The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives finds that as of 10:00 a.m. April 30, you have failed to comply with the committee's subpoena of April 11, 1974."

May 2, 1974

You state, "Yesterday we sent a letter of non-compliance to our subpoena to the President.... Today, we have worked long and hard, with give and take, and have agreed upon the following procedures in our impeachment inquiry of the President:

- "The hearings will be open to the public unless closed by Committee vote.

- "The President as well as his Counsel James St. Clair will be invited to attend the presentation, and all hearings at which witnesses are heard, including executive sessions.

- "Mr. St. Clair will be invited to submit requests that the Committee hear additional witnesses or receive additional evidence.

- "Mr. St. Clair can raise objections relating to the examination of witnesses or the admissability of evidence; such objections would be ruled by the Chairman, and his rulings would be final unless overruled by a majority of the Committee members present.

- "The President's Counsel can question any witness, subject to instructions from the Chairman.

- "Radio and television coverage will be allowed any open hearings."

July 24 – August 7, 1974

NOTE TO SIMULATION DIRECTOR: Rather than going straight into announcing the vote on the following three Passed Articles of Impeachment, if time permits and you wish, you can direct Chairman Peter Rodino to allow debate before announcing the vote on each Article. Also, if you wish, those Articles of Impeachment which did not pass, can be debated.

* * * * * *

After the Simulation Director changes the date on the chalkboard to July 24 – August 7, 1974, you announce each of the three Articles of Impeachment, one at a time, with debate following each Article announced IF you are directed by the Simulation Director to allow debate. Following debate on each Article, you announce the voting results as given below or if debate is by-passed, you directly announce the results as provided below. An abridged version of each of the *passed* Articles of Impeachment are provided below.

Article I

"By a vote of 27 to 11 this Committee has voted that Richard M. Nixon's conduct warrants impeachment and trial and removal from office . . . . that on June 17, 1972, and prior thereto, agents of the Committee for the Re-election of the President committed unlawful entry of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in Washington, District of Columbia, for the purpose of securing political intelligence. Subsequent thereto Richard M. Nixon, using the powers of high office, engaged personally and through his subordinates and agents in a course of conduct or plan designed to delay, impede and obstruct investigations of unlawful entry to cover up, conceal and protect those responsible and to conceal the existence and scope of other unlawful covert . . . . "

PAUSE

Article II

Then say, We have now considerably debated the Second Article of Impeachment, "Using the powers of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in disregard of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has repeatedly engaged in conduct violating the constitutional rights of citizens, impairing the due and proper administration of justice and the lawful inquiries, or contravening the laws governing agencies . . .

"By a vote of 28 to ten this Article is approved."

PAUSE

Article III

State, We now come to the Third Article of Impeachment, ". . . . Richard M. Nixon has failed without lawful cause or excuse, to produce papers and things as directed by duly authorized subpoenas issued by the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives . . . and willfully disobeyed such subpoenas. . . . In refusing to produce these papers and things, Richard M. Nixon, substituting his judgment as to what materials were necessary for the inquiry, interposed the powers of the presidency against the lawful subpoenas of the House of Representatives, thereby assuming to himself functions and judgments necessary to the exercise of the sole power of impeachment vested by the Constitution in the House of Representatives. . . .

"By a vote of 24 to 14 Article Three is passed."

Role P

Role: Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.), Ranking Republican Member of the House Judiciary Committee

Time: May 1, 1974 and July 24 -- August 7, 1974

Place: Hearing Room of the House Judiciary Committee

May 1, 1974

After Chairman Peter Rodino opens the meeting, you emphasize the confrontation with the White House should be avoided at all costs. You warn that the men who constructed a government of separated powers never contemplated a confrontation between the branches of government. "Confrontation never works, it produces only statements."

Role Q

Role: Jerome R. Waldie (D-Calif.), Member of the House Judiciary Committee

Time: May 1, 1974 and July 24 – August 7, 1974

Place: Hearing Room of the House Judiciary Committee

May 1, 1974

You do not agree with the view that the founders of our country never contemplated confrontation between the branches of government. You point out that impeachment itself is the "ultimate confrontation of the legislative branch with the executive branch."

Role R

Role: James R. Mann (D-S Carol.), Member of the House Judiciary Committee

Time: May 1, 1974 and July 24 – August 7, 1974

Place: Hearing Room of the House Judiciary Committee

May 1, 1974

You state during the debate on how the House Judiciary Committee should respond to the President's release of transcripts to the Committee that "The tapes which were subpoened and an expert analysis of the tapes are essential to obtain the whole truth . . . . How can anyone object to the whole truth . . . . Unless I get it I am handicapped in my service to the American people in determining this issue."

A SPECIAL FOOTNOTE

The information provided in this simulation was carefully researched as to accuracy and authenticity. But because WATERGATE is a relatively recent event in American history, new revelations in time may make it necessary to change portions of this simulation. Users are invited to write the author in care of the publisher if and when inaccuracies are discovered. Users are also invited to suggest procedural improvements in *WATERGATE – The Waterloo of a President* at any time. Suggestions to improve historical accuracy or procedures can be incorporated in future editions of the greatest political scandal in American history, of which this simulation is concerned.

Richard W. Hostrop

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The New York Times

June 13, 1971

THE PENTAGON PAPERS

This is a first in a series to reveal to the public a secret Pentagon study of the motives and the thinking that led to the Vietnam war . . . . .

Card 1

31

The New York Times

July 23, 1971

SECRET SALT TALKS REVEALED

The United States has a secret fall back position in the strategic arms-limitation (SALT) talks with the Russians and Times has learned. Details of these plans include . . . . .

Card 2

32

The New York Times

November 6, 1972

NIXON WINS BY LARGEST POPULAR VOTE IN US HISTORY

The President defeated Senator George McGovern of South Dakota by more than . . . . .

33

Card 3

The New York Times

October 19, 1973

NIXON NOT TO APPEAL TO SUPREME COURT

President Nixon offered today to supply Judge Sirica and the Senate investigating committee with a statement of the Watergate-related tapes. Senator John Stennis (D-Miss.) will be given full access to the tapes in order to verify the accuracy of statements made on the tapes.

The President states the special prosecutor, "as an employee of the Executive Branch was to make no further attempt . . . to subpoena still more tapes or other presidential papers of a similar nature."

Nixon said his proposal "would comply with the spirit" of the appeals court decision and would give Cox "the information he claims he needs for use in the grand jury."

Card 4

34

The New York Times

October 20, 1973

PRESIDENT FIRES COX

President Nixon today discharged Archibald Cox, special Watergate prosecutor, for "insubordination." Cox yesterday refused the President's demand to desist from further attempts by judicial process to obtain tapes, notes or memoranda of presidential conversations.

The public reaction to the firing has been immediate. Within an hour of the President's announcement that he had fired Cox honking of car horns outside the White House began. Protestors held up signs saying, HONK FOR IMPEACHMENT. NBC and CBS are having special programs tonight on the significance of Cox's firing. Western Union reports it has processed over 100,000 telegrams protesting the discharge. . . . .

The New York Times

August 5, 1974

NIXON TAPE REVEALS EARLY KNOWLEDGE AND COVER-UP OF WATERGATE BREAK-IN

Today President Nixon released the contents of a June 23, 1972 conversation with H. R. Haldeman which reveals the President had knowledge of those involved in the Watergate break-in only six days after the break-in occurred. The President has maintained up to today that he was not aware of who was involved until March 21, 1973.

The contents of the June 23, 1972 tape reveal that not only did the President know who was involved in the Watergate break-in but attempted to use the CIA to obstruct the FBI investigation into the break-in. . . . .

C|P

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